The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

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Trotsky's Speech to the Petrograd Soviet.

[illegible]rades.—Two months [illegible] I have a speech here to the Petrograd Soviet and the Congress of Soviets [illegible] Northern Territory. It was [illegible] we had surrendered Simbirsk [illegible] [illegible]slovaks and the White [illegible] few days before we [illegible] one of the saddest [illegible] history of our young Soviet Republic. [illegible] I came to you from M[illegible] decided at a meeting [illegible] the People's Commissaries [illegible] meetings, at a [illegible] danger to the Soviet R[illegible] here where this r[illegible] turn to Red Petrograd [illegible] Petrograd workmen to the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and we await support [illegible] [illegible] and you all [illegible] [illegible] Soviet [illegible] [illegible] enthusi[illegible] to its determination [illegible] appeal, and sent hundreds [illegible] [illegible] of the best sons of Petrograd [illegible] working class to the front. [illegible] Eastern front with them [illegible] month when we were trying [illegible] Kazan, and I watched your representative workingmen, the comrades [illegible] Petrograd.

If we took Kazan, if we took Simbirsk, **if we cleared the Volga, it was**, in an enormous **degree, thanks to those workers** whom we **sent from here**. They created our army **there under** the enemy's fire. We only **sent the raw** material there: young men, **unconsolidated** forces. The [illegible] soul **had to be** poured into them. They had to be **welded** together, they had [illegible] given **self-confidence**, a united, centralised **command had to be created**. The [illegible] for the **command** had to be [illegible], and, **where** political control was [illegible] over them, authoritative workers [illegible] wanted who would be a guarantee [illegible] soldiers that **those in command** [illegible] not deceive them or bring them [illegible] trouble. All this was done by representatives of the **Petrograd** working [illegible]. You took **Kazan**, you took Simbirsk, you **cleared** the Volga, you, the Petrograd **Soviet of Workmen's** and Red Army **Deputies!** I told you then that, in the War Department, there was no doubt [illegible] could **create** a strong, forcible, [illegible] army, **and** a strong navy, perhaps not numerous for the time, while we [illegible] short **in what** we can do at sea, [illegible] navy **which** can be developed [illegible] **international conditions** make that [illegible] **and international** conditions are [illegible] every day in our favour. We [illegible] **created** a **river** flotilla on the Volga, where, **as I** remarked at our meeting yesterday, our [illegible] and **are** fighting with incomparable heroism. Some vessels of the Baltic fleet, of **course only** the smaller fighting [illegible] **have been transferred** there with [illegible] hardened, revolutionary crews. [illegible] the **White Guards** are retreating down the **Volga and on the** Kama, and have surrendered the mouth of the [illegible] In **these battles** perished, as I have mentioned, one of the best representatives of the **Baltic Fleet**, Nikolai Grigorievich **Markin**, the founder of our Volga **flotilla, second in** command to Comrade **Raskolnikov**.

We **created a Red** air-fleet. This is the most **delicate form of** armament: among the **airmen were many** elements demoralised **by the old Grand Ducal** regime, and the **profession itself** was very aristocratic. **The airmen do** not live as a corporate **body (artel)**, but as individuals, and [illegible] look down on the army. [illegible] 'You will not have an air [illegible] will fly over to the enemy.' [illegible] they flew over [illegible] There were cases [illegible] where airmen [illegible] of course, [illegible] were isol[illegible] [illegible] im[illegible] [illegible] feel [illegible] We had many [illegible] the in[illegible] [illegible] the sad [illegible] to award the [illegible] I should say [illegible] first place in [illegible] They knew [illegible] there [illegible] conditions [illegible] of the [illegible] and by [illegible] service [illegible] ruthless [illegible]

[illegible] diary of [illegible] White Guard woman, who [illegible] month of strife in [illegible] every page the work [illegible] of the air that means [illegible] spoken of with horror and hatred. And now they have been spread out on all fronts: on the southern front against the Cossacks our Red airmen will shortly display their strength. I wanted to tell you that our Red Army is spreading itself in all directions, upward as well. We shall establish a durable, centralised, strong apparatus, morally sound [illegible] because the Red Army is bound together by that unity of feeling which the revolutionary representatives of Petrograd and Moscow proletariat have brought into it. Literally regiments who came from the villages and were but little educated and enlightened have in the course of two or three weeks been [illegible] regenerated under the influence of leading workmen. I remember one [illegible] The picture just now came up before my eyes. It was one of the saddest and most tragic nights before Kazan, when raw young forces retired in a panic [illegible] was in August, in the first [illegible] when we suffered reverses. A detachment of Communists arrived: there were [illegible] of them, fifty-six, I think. Among them were such as never had a rifle in their hands before that day. There were men of forty or more, but the majority were boys of eighteen, nineteen, or twenty. I remember how one smooth-faced, eighteen-year-old Petrograd Communist appeared at headquarters at night, rifle in hand, and told us how a regiment had deserted its position and they had taken its place, and he said: 'We are Communards.' From this detachment of fifty men twelve returned, but, Comrades, they created an army, these Petrograd and Moscow workmen, who went to abandoned positions in detachments of fifty or sixty men and returned twelve in number. They perished nameless, as the majority of the heroes of the working class generally do. Our problem and duty is to endeavour to re-establish their names in the memory of the working class. Many perished there, and they are no longer known by name but they made for us that Red Army which defends Soviet Russia and defends the conquests of the working class, that citadel, that fortress of the international revolution which our Soviet Russia now represents. From that time, Comrades, our position became, as you know, incomparably better on the eastern front, where the danger was the greatest, for the Czecho-Slovaks and White Guards, moving forward from Simbirsk to Kazan, threatened us with a movement on Nijny in one direction, and in another, with one toward Vologda, Yaroslav, and Archangel, to join up with the Anglo-French expedition. That is why our chief efforts were directed to the eastern front, and these efforts gave a good result. The Volga has now been cleared from its source to its mouth. And if the Krasnov bands did attempt to cut in again between Tsaritsyn and Astrakhan, near Tsaritsyn, Svetly Yar, and Sarepta, well, as you all know, this effort was crushed by our Steppe army, which overthrew Krasnov's numerous forces, overthrew the manoeuvring battalion of officers, took the staff prisoner, siezed all the artillery, and, according to the latest information, was pursuing the troops that were fleeing in panic in all directions. The Volga has been freed at Samara and Syzran, and our affairs on the Ural are going incomparably better than before, for on the Volga, we have freed important forces that are moving far on to the east. On the Ural we have approached Orenburg and Ufa after taking Bugulma. The fall of Ufa and Orenburg is certain in the near future, and Ekaterinburg's fate is a foregone conclusion.

It is true that while advancing to the east we lengthen our communications, and this always makes more difficulty. But we must take into consideration the fact that while advancing to the east we are seizing important military bases, for the enemy is retiring everywhere in a panic and is leaving at our disposal enormous military stores, and, what is more important, valuable works which serve for the production of munitions. The result is that not only we, but our military bases, are advancing, and our military position is improving, not becoming more difficult.

Archangel and Murmansk front represented a great danger for us until we became convinced that that expedition could not join hands with the Czecho-Slovaks and the White Guards on the Volga and on the Ural. This danger now may be regarded as past. It is true that in their communiques the White Guards say that they have evacuated Kazan, Simbirsk, Volsk, Khvalynsk, Syzran, and Samara for strategic reasons. We, of course, cannot make any objection to all this dirt having cleared out of the territory of the Soviet Republic for strategic reasons connected with their operations. But I remember how, when they tried to surround our army in Sviyajsk, they brought from Samara and Simbirsk some officers' manoeuvring battalions from newly mobilised regiments. Savinkov, Fortunatov, and Lebedev marched at the head of these troops to crush our forces that were struggling near Kazan. They were driven off, suffered a defeat, and issued a communique for the White Guard population: 'We fulfilled our task, we retired in complete order in the full sense of the expression.' This was not a strategical manoeuvre, but something else—like the panic-stricken retreat of whipped hounds. So that there is no ground to fear that those two fronts will be joined up. And once this is so, then the Archangel front, to which we, of course, must give our full attention, ceases to be threatening, at any rate for the near future, during the winter months. The White Sea will soon freeze, and communication between the expedition and the English metropolis will be interrupted.

They will have to retire to the Murmansk coast that does not freeze. But it will not be difficult for us in this land of starvation, cut off from England by ice, to crush the English expedition with small forces. There remains the southern front, and to it I direct all the attention of the Petrograd Workmen's and Red Army Deputies' Soviet. It is quite natural that, here, you concentrated all your attention on the northern and northeastern fronts, sent your best forces thither and were occupied in sustaining, morally and physically, the forces dispatched to those parts.

And now, Comrades, we are living in times when the lines of international politics are changing their course with immense, with catastrophic swiftness. England thought Savinkov's White Guards were stronger than they proved to be. In the French Legation and in the French Embassy (sic) I was told that the former French Ambassador, Noulens, just before the Yaroslav revolt summoned Savinkov and told him that on such and such a date he must raise a revolt in Yaroslav. Savinkov answered that this was a hopeless affair. Noulens, in reply, showed him that they must join hands with the Czecho-Slovaks, whose armies were already disintegrating, and, therefore, Savinkov's help was essential. Noulens formulated it in this way: "We do not give millions to your organisations in order that you should refuse to do what we want, and when we want it.' And then Savinkov organised the Yaroslav revolt.

At that time we were weak, but, nevertheless, the Yaroslav revolt was crushed and all the Entente missions were swept out of Vologda. A strict revolutionary regime was set up there; the counter-revolutionary plots were cut off, and the northern operations of the Franco-English Imperialists were uprooted.

They are now turning all their attention to the south, not only because they have suffered defeat in the north and northeast, but, first of all, because for the time being, the interrelation of forces have changed. Germany, having brought into subjection the Balkan peninsula, Rumania, the Ukraine, and Trans-Caucasia, was trying to effect a dictatorship in the Northern Caucasus.

Now the situation has radically changed, and the Anglo-French and American plunderers have discounted this to begin with. The orientation is now changing in all the Balkan countries. Previously, they were the vassals, the mercenaries, of Germany; now they are making ready to become, within twenty-four hours, or twenty-four minutes if required, the subject or half-willing vassals and mercenaries of Anglo-French Imperialism. This has already happened in Bulgaria, it is happening in Turkey, it may happen tomorrow in Rumania, and it has been for a long time in preparation in the Ukraine. To the land-owning and bourgeois classes there, it makes no difference whether Skoropadskyism is on a German or an Anglo-French basis. The Ukraine knows that she cannot expect thanks from Skoropadsky, that he will sell Ukrainian land and Ukrainian grain to Germany just as he would to the Anglo-French Imperialists.

Then, the Caucasus, too, at present is a place where the endeavours of English Imperialism and the weakening endeav-

Continued on page 4.

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"In Terror, Blood, and Tears"

Under the above caption, the "Sun" of Monday last, bewailed the spread of Bolshevism.

The striking seamen were condemned for their "lawlessness," and it was stated that "the ruthless promptings and policy of the Bolshevik" were behind the strike. Had the "Sun" left it at that they would have in some measure achieved their end—clouding the mental vision of their readers. However, not being satisfied, they endeavour to show the destructiveness of Bolshevism, and their purile attempt must have made many of their erstwhile **believers** doubt the truth of the many hard things that have been said of our Russian comrades.

This master class "hack" says,—"Not a nation in Europe has escaped their mad millennium," and to prove it, Russia, Hungary, France, Afghanistan, Canada, United States, Spain, Norway and Sweden are mentioned as being very much effected by Bolshevik propaganda. But despite this universal acceptance of Bolshevism by the workers and soldiers in the countries surrounding Russia, and who are therefore far better informed as to the conditions prevailing under the "Reign of Terror" than the "Sun" can ever hope to be, we are asked to believe that they are walking with open eyes into a state of affairs which can only reward them with "disease," "starvation," "terror, blood and tears"!

How the Bolsheviks are viewed by the working class in the countries, which being close to Russia, enables them to secure first hand information, can be gathered from the following cable, lifted from the above mentioned issue of the "Sun":

> "A regiment mutinied at Toulouse; French divisions sent to the Crimea showed strong mutinous tendencies, refusing to fight the Bolsheviks; whilst the crews of the Black Sea squadron hoisted the red flag, fraternised with the Bolsheviks, and refused to fire on the forces of the Crimean Workers' Republic."

The "Sun," like the rest of the yellow press, bewails the destructive policy of the Bolsheviks, why? Is it because of the destruction of human life and property, as they would have us believe? Certainly not. There is no sentiment in connection with the policy of master class controlled press, otherwise there would not have been silence on their part during the past four years when the wholesale destruction of life and property was the order of the day.

The destructive policy of the Bolsheviks, the one that is the nightmare of the master class and their lackeys, is the destruction of the right of private ownership in the means of production and distribution, thereby destroying the right that is vested in the ownership—the right to exploit the propertyless class who have to have access to them in order to live. The master class will stick at nothing in their effort to retain this right of ownership, and for them to pervert the Bolshevik policy into one of slaughter, etc., is a mere item.

However, despite the lying of the press, one thing is certain, and that is that the Proletarian Dictatorship still stands in Russia. This establishment of the Proletarian Dictatorship, the conquest of political power on the part of the working class, is the first move for emancipation. Once accomplished the process of expropriating the means of life from the "few" by the "many" begins. The duration of the process depends upon the extent of the development in the means of production and distribution, the class consciousness, and industrial organisation of the toilers.

The emancipation of our class does not necessarily imply "terror, blood and tears." The "terror, blood and tears" will be of the master class's own making. In other words, should we of the working class be denied the right to capture political power by peaceful means, then other methods will be both necessary and justifiable. Likewise when once the process of emancipation begins, stringent measures become necessary against those of the master class who rebel against the will of the majority and conspire against the interests of the people.

We of the working class have had our share of "terror, blood and tears." We have been terrorised for ages; our "blood" has been considered of no more value than the "tears" its shedding causes. But despite this, we desire emancipation, peaceful, if possible, but at all costs our emancipation.

Let us hope that "terror, blood and tears" will not be a part of our Revolution—**but above all, let us gain our economic freedom.**

Ray Everitt.

Slams and Jabs.

By JAYBES.

Higgins, the Seamen, and the Solution.

Chief Justice Higgins has surely proved to the veriest bone head that the Arbitration Court is one of capitalism's leading dope institutions. Higgins is wrathful over the seamen in their present dispute, refusing to appear before him, they believe, and believe correctly, that they will be able to do better by their organised strength. Higgins in a lengthy output of judicial mush suggests that the seamen are victims of foreign pamphleteers, meaning, of course, the propaganda of revolution. We wish they were, and are sorry that they are not, but we are glad that they have at last fell to the stale joke of arbitration. We suggest the following motto to be carved over the door of the Arbitration Court: "Abandon hope all ye who enter here." Australian workers' conditions on the whole compare very favorably with that of the wage slaves of any other country, and the time is rotten ripe for a change; this change can only be brought about by the capture of political power by the workers who will abolish political representation of geographical boundaries and establish the Industrial Republic where the representatives will come from organised workers who will have in fact reflected that political power. The policy of the Australian Socialist Party is clear and definite. If you are a worker Enlist in the political army of the revolution.

* * *

Melbourne Scabs Quit the Wharf Because They Cannot Live on a Wharfie's Pay.

During the great strike of 1917 the Government called upon men in the name of patriotism, etc., to scab on their fellows. The Government, representing the Australian capitalist class, promised those scabs free beer, free homes, free everything if they would only assist in breaking the strike. Many were the Dubbs who answered the call.

The Melbourne wharves teemed with those "loyalists," who believed that "scraps of paper" would be recognised. The strikers, through the lack of scientific industrial organisation and through official mismanagement, were thoroughly walloped. The scabs had done their work, and the bosses put the screws into them to such an extent that they finally decided that the wages paid were such that they couldn't carry on. The other evening all that was left of them passed a resolution deciding to withdraw from the wharf, stating "That a large number of the original loyalists had never received a living wage, which we can prove by the Yarra Stevedoring Company's books and dockets.

The master class proves the Socialist contention, that as long as the workers are willing to fight the workers they will pay a little extra for scabs, but when the conflict seems over they will always employ the most profitable men. In this case they are the union wharf lumpers.

* * *

Men or Murderers?

And ever since historians writ,
And ever since a bard could sing,
Doth each exalt with all his wit
The noble art of murdering.

Tell me what find we to admire
In epaulets and scarlet coats,
In men because they load and fire
And k[illegible] the art of [illegible]

Y[illegible] orthodox historian [illegible]
In foremost rank the soldier [illegible]
The red coat [illegible]
That hides the mar[illegible] of men from us.

—Tennyson

* * *

Might is Right.

During the worst period of the war the Bishop of London was interviewed by a "New York Times" correspondent, and being a good Christian of high [illegible] his opinions [illegible] were worth something—to the [illegible] pay him.

The Bishop said [illegible] equally as foolish [illegible] than see the Germans [illegible] right prevail." Whether that was the particular god [illegible] did prevail, always [illegible]—the bishop is still alive.

* * *

[Ca]pitalist Offers of Co-operation Versus the Commodity Status of Labor.

The Melbourne "Herald" in a screaming editorial bemoans the fact that the co-operation of the "classes"—between the social highwaymen and their victims—the capitalists and the workers—is still a thing in the dim and distant future. Like the anarchists they attribute the social turmoil to the work of agitators and they are bold enough to refer to the "sheep-like surrender of the rank and file to the extremists." The shoe is on the other foot, it is exactly the other way about. If the conditions under which the workers manage to live or slowly die, which ever way you like it, were good, that is, if the workers were getting all out of life there is to be got out of it while on this planet, no one could persuade the workers into believing that they were rotten. The rotten conditions are here and the "agitator" simply points to their existence. All the "reforms" and "plans for betterment" must be abortive, they cannot be other. In order to produce profits for the boss the worker has to be in a fit condition physically (mentally it doesn't matter), to keep fit he has to eat and sleep and wear clothes; when he works he gets wages, in exchange for the wages he gets a "home" from a landlord, bread from the baker, meat from the butcher, and a few second hand clothes at the end of the year. That represents the value of the commodity he sells, "Labor Power." Like the prices of other commodities it rises and falls. If men are scarce the price (wages) rise above the value of the commodity (labor power), if men are plentiful the price falls below the value, but on the whole they tend to level up over a period of time. No reforms or "co-operation" can alter that which is known as The Commodity Status of Labor. The "sheep-like surrender" that we cannot understand is the workers submitting to this exploitation so long when they have the power, if organised on proper lines, to abolish the cause, capitalism.

* * *

Kolchak's Army is now in Petrograd.

Kolchak's army has been advancing and retiring in quadrille fashion for several months now in the vicinity of Petrograd. It must be consoling to those interested, who were held in such suspense, to know that he has arrived there with 100 guns and 40,000 troops—Bolshevik prisoners of war. If the anti-Bolshevik forces succeed in having three more "successes" such as this the Allied money lenders will be shedding tears as big as **Fiji bananas.**

More About Gas.

Poison gas, when used by the Germans was a dastardly invention, and it[illegible] was opposed by the scratch as scrat[illegible] can rules laid down by the Hague on ho[w] the human frame should be mutila[ted] into a "bunch of bloody rags." According to the rule, a body of men could b[e] blown up from above, but it was like hi[t]ting below the belt to blow them [up] from underneath, you could mine the [illegible] and press a button and send them to join the "innumerable caravan," [illegible] was humane warfare.

But gas! That would end war [so] quickly if persisted in, and the muni[tion] patriots would not be able to [illegible] their anticipated profits.

So in this regard the Germans deli[ber]ately violated the sacred pact entered to by the armour plate soloists who [met] at the Hague.

Necessity and desperation know [no] laws, as would appear from a recent [cable] from New York, which tells us about [a] new and deadly gas the Yanks were [get]ting ready when the war came to an [end]. The chemical preparation was know[n as] "Lewisite" after its discoverer, [illegible] Lewis, an American chemist. "This [poi]son," says the cable, "would wipe [out] every vestige of animal and plant [life]." It's a good thing the war ended, fo[r] if not, with the 3000 tons in hand, [there] wouldn't have been many German [wo]men and children left.

We and our Allies were Christian [peo]ple while the enemy were Huns. "Blessed are the meek in spirit."

* * *

What Do They Mean by "Direct Action?"

The organisation styling itself the [In]ternational Industrial workers" in [its of]ficial journal "Industrial Solidarity," [re]ferring to the phrase "Direct Action" says "[illegible] the whole vocabulary [of the] class war there is none like it." [illegible] it for [illegible] we say. If [illegible] Strike w[illegible] not say so. If "direct action" means the pitting [of] your toe and finger nails against [the] scientific slaughtering machinery of [the] master class, why not say so? If "direct action" means social violence—anarc[hy], let's hear it. As scientific Socialists we are opposed to "direct action" as advocated by the I.W.W.

The Revolutionary movement of [the] working class cannot descend to the pit tactics of the subterranean anarc[hist], its propaganda must be open and a[bove] board, it must leave no room for [the] agent "provocateur," spy or pimp. [In] the Real Revolutionary Movement of [the] working class there is nothing to sp[y or] pimp about, its policy is obvious and [de]termined; it is out for the capture [of] political power to destroy the polit[ical] state and establish the Industrial Re[pub]lic of Labor. Marx and Engels, the fo[un]ders of Scientific Socialism, lay gr[eat] stress on political action, the I.W.W. claims to be Marxian in principle, but [on] the contrary they are followers of Pro[ud]hon, interspersed with a little Owen a[nd] Fourierism.

They suggest the controlling of "[pub]lic power" by "winning the hearts [and] minds of the soldiers direct"; O per[fect] dream! Such propaganda, instead [of] preparing the working class organisat[ion] for the overthrow of capitalism alon[e] and befogs the issue.

Revolutionary political and industr[ial] action will get the goods. Direct acti[on] so-called, will land you in a bog. T[he] only effective way to "hit the boss on [the] pocket book" is to abolish the boss cl[ass] and that cannot be done without a po[li]tical victory.

* * *

The "Dream" and the "Nightmare"—Both Are On The Way.

The capitalist press, for lack of argument, oftimes refer to socialism as "A beautiful dream," and again as a "horrible nightmare."

They do not seem to understand how near the truth they hit when they pass those remarks. It IS a "beautiful dream" for the downtrodden, and a "horrible nightmare" for those who are living a life in idle luxury; and both the "dream" and the "nightmare" are inevitable.

The capitalists were once a revolutionary class who overthrew Feudal society, but now that they are the RULING CLASS they want social progress to mark time so that their existence can be extended.

They seem to instinctively understand, that each move forward is a milestone on

Save the Child-- Why?

By MARCIA.

:o:

In the face of recent events, child life and its salvation has become an important subject for the consideration of the capitalist class.

It has been pointed out time and time again how the sudden interest in child welfare is significant, how it is essential that the latter should be studied and fostered, because the master class realise that their supply of slaves must be kept up.

The latest reform measures on the subject of saving child life are recommendations put forward to the various governments by the International Conference at Cannes, France, which included representatives from all the allied and [illegible] the neutral countries.

This conference advocates a great child saving committee to be taken up by the Red Cross throughout the world. The great need, urge the [illegible], is education, both in the [illegible] and in infancy.

Nobody, if they claim to have intelligence at all, would ever belittle education.

Education is good, it is always [illegible] where it fails in this respect is [illegible] it cannot be put to practical use. It is admitted that ignorance is a [illegible] in infant mortality, but it also [illegible] that the economic conditions [illegible] exist are the primary cause [illegible] beget ignorance, by the fact that machine and factory leave [illegible] learning domestic duties; and [illegible] a great stumbling block to [illegible] schemes of the Child Welfare [illegible] because the environment and circumstances surrounding the [illegible] class mother will not permit her to make use of any knowledge she may have.

To anyone who has the least understanding of working class conditions, the ideas suggested by the medical men are absurd, for example, says Professor Pinard.

"Professor Pinard stated that there is a French law which asked that children should respect their parents. He would like to see a new law introduced making parents respect their unborn children. He laid particular stress on the [illegible] results of allowing women to work in industrial establishments up to a few weeks of child-birth. He considered it [illegible] to talk of protection during [illegible] four weeks of pregnancy. He would [illegible] to see expectant mothers in the [illegible] classes protected from all [illegible] work for practically the whole time [illegible] pregnancy."

[illegible] he would like to see it, but [illegible] not in the least likely to all the [illegible]

[illegible] a law was made to prevent [illegible] working in factories during pregnancy [illegible] are they to starve while they [illegible] at home?

[illegible] these clever men imagine that [illegible] like to slave like horses during [illegible] months before child birth, they do it because the system forces them to do so, and for no other reason.

But Professor Pinard goes further than "industrial establishments," he would prohibit all tiring work.

[illegible] good thing, too; if it were practicable, but the idea of a woman of the working class doing no tiring work during pregnancy, is too ridiculous for words.

Take, for instance, washing; that is [illegible] the most tiring work of the domestic routine. How is the working man's wife going to get her washing done if she doesn't do it herself? It is beyond her means to send it to a laundry, and if she employs another woman, it is just a matter of degree, for it is more than likely that the woman employed is in delicate health herself—wheels within wheels.

It is fact, and the English doctors confirm it, that in England a large percentage of premature births, still-born babies, and above all, complications at the time of confinement are caused by the heavy washing, and the method by which it is done. I mention England, because it is particularly stated the movement is International.

And yet, by machinery, washing can be done with no exertion at all; but that is only for the benefit of the master class, like motor cars it is beyond the reach of the wage slave.

So throughout the piece, with all the labor-saving devices in existence, the wage slave's wife still struggles, cleans, cooks, and drudges in the same old-fashioned laborious manner, and while the system lasts she is going to continue in the same old way.

[illegible] Newsholme, who opened the discussion, [illegible] phasised that the object of child welfare work was to secure for each child an equal opportunity of health and efficiency."

"Health," for what?

"Efficiency" for what?

[illegible] take their place in [illegible] and produce profit [illegible] para[illegible]

[illegible] scheme.

"[illegible] communities legisla[illegible] which will pre[illegible] entering industry between [illegible] without first pass[illegible] examination by a competent phy[illegible] showing that [illegible] to perform [illegible] which he is intended."

[illegible] interesting.

[illegible] want strong [illegible] industries.

[illegible] idea of the [illegible] that children must be looked after and their welfare [illegible] the medical fraternity are prepared [illegible] the healthy ones into the factories and workshops, regardless of the fact that their health will deteriorate, and in turn their children will suffer; wheels within wheels once more.

The whole question after all resolves itself into Causes and Effects.

You cannot put "new wine into old bottles," and you cannot mend an old coat with new cloth, because it simly tears in a fresh place.

And thus all these schemes for child welfare and mother's welfare, cannot, and will not have the desired effect, while the system is run for profit.

While the labor power of the working class is bought and sold in the "labor market" like sheep, pigs or potatoes," their status must remain the same; they receive a living wage, food, clothing and shelter; they must toil all their lives, and with their children it must be always a "survival of the fittest."

And granting the sincerity of some few who try and cope with effects, the fact remains that behind it all, the driving force is the master class who demands, that to gratify their insatiable lust for gold, the coming generations shall, if possible, grow up healthy and efficient.

That, after all, is what the workers have to realise, that even the so-called reforms are for the ultimate benefit of the capitalist class, and that they and their children are merely chattels to be [illegible] instruments for the production of profit.

And indeed, for generations, the slaves have [illegible] with these things, [illegible] to [illegible] like pigs, content to allow their women to work and slave until a few minutes before their children are born; content to see those children hustled into the inferno of the factories while they should still be at their mother's side; and this in spite of all the agitating and propaganda, and the blood which has been shed of the few who took up freedom's cause.

But those who are out for emancipation have now a stronger ally than ever before. The Economic Conditions are steadily growing worse, and this fact is forcing a realisation on the proletariat of his true status in society.

Economic conditions have forced the worker to limit his family; they have forced industrial unrest and discontent; in Russia they have forced a Revolution.

It remains then for the Socialists to take the full advantage of this awakening on the part of the workers, and point the beacon-light of Revolution on Class Lines, as their only hope of ultimate salvation.

the road to destruction; they want to go back to "free competition" and "bust the trusts," but the steam roller of social progress moves on and on, grinding down all that stands in its way.

You may try to side-step and back-step the fact, but the next step is Socialism.

A "Critical" Review Criticised.

In the April issue of the "Revolutionary Socialist," Mr. Emmett takes to task an individual passing by the psuedonym of "Radix" who had written a pamphlet. The pamphlet came under the notice of Mr. Emmett, who, hawk-eye like, swooped down to devour "Radix." Instead of "Radix" being criticised, for the specific statement about the inventor, he is actually correct, and the "critical" reviewer, Mr. Emmett, is in a fog.

Let it be noted that I AM NOT AGREEING WITH THE "RADIX" PAMPHLET. I am dealing with a particular point, that is necessary to expose Mr. Emmett. "Radix," like the S.L.P.'er under question, knows as much of the Marxian system, as a sausage knows of the solar system. The attack by Mr. Emmett, is as follows:—

""Radix" is quite wrong in assuming that the inventor should make common cause with the working class. The inventor is not a friend of the working class, he is only a great friend of the capitalist class. Since this particular "brain-worker" simply shows the capitalist how to better exploit the labourers . . . . . we can't see at all that the inventor's interests are at one with, or the same as, those of the working-class! And we can't see at all that he "ought to join us.""

History has demonstrated in innumerable cases that inventors have died almost destitute, owing to the fact that the capitalist class despoiled them of their intellectual product. A survey of the textile industry will soon convince anyone of that fact. To suggest—as Mr. Emmett does—that an inventor is against the workers, and ought not to join us, signifies a gross and profound ignorance of the works of Marx. An inventor is no more against the workers than a bricklayer is against a tinsmith. They each participate in the SOCIAL process.

Not understanding this social process—the requisite for a Marxist—Mr. Emmett is bound to be unsound in any conclusions he comes to, arising from this process. He should know, at least, that an invention is as Marx called it, "accumulated practical experience," and is really an advance upon something already in existence. The addition of some mechanical contrivance, or the application of power to a machine, is but a link in evolution.

Just as under capitalism, the social process is on co-operative lines, and all industries interdependent one upon another; so are all "inventions" part of that process. The intensification in industry results from improved means of production which is the dynamic force producing the revolutionary mass, that will eventually overthrow this system. The greater the increase in the productive forces, the sooner the enlightenment of the working class; the quicker the emancipation.

The increasing misery of the working class, in no way effects the proposition that the mechanic who adds to improvement, thereby advancing the process, is not just as great a slave to the master class as the ordinary factory hand. The inventor's "creation" is not his own, but a social product of the prevailing conditions.

It is not the inventor—or the invention—that causes the misery of the working class, but the ownership of the invention in the means of production by the non-producing capitalist class.

True to his lack of intimacy with Marx, and true to his essentially antiquated view, Mr. Emmett takes up precisely the same view-point that the workers had a century ago. At that time, the introduction of machinery was looked upon as a great menace to the proletariat. In the northern districts of England, and in fact in many manufacturing towns, small manufacture was the order of the day. The installation of machinery was so bitterly resented by the workers, that they attacked and destroyed by fire and other means, the mills that had the machinery introduced. The worker thought that the machine was the enemy he had to fight.

Mr. Emmett stands mentally in the same position. He is a century behind the times. Had he digested Marx's "Capital" he would have been somewhat familiar with this passage from that work. This does not infer that Mr. Emmett has not read "Capital," it only means that he does not understand it. Says Marx on this point:—

Page 429 Swan Sonnenchein Ed.
Page 468 Charles H. Kerr Ed.

"It took both time and experience before the work-people learnt to distinguish between machinery and its employment by capital, and to direct their attacks, not against the material instruments of production, but against the mode in which they are used."

Of course one cannot say that Mr. Emmett has NOT read that first volume of Marx, but what can be said—and with certitude—is, that he has not understood what Marx has written. A faithful reading of the first volume would have shown the following repudiation of Mr. Emmett, by Marx. He would have discovered a footnote by Marx on page 383 in the English edition; page 422 in the American edition:—

"Science, generally speaking, costs the capitalist nothing, a fact that by no means hinders him from exploiting it. THE SCIENCE OF OTHERS IS AS MUCH ANNEXED BY CAPITAL AS THE LABOUR OF OTHERS." (Caps. mine. W. B.)

Instead of the division in society being on CLASS lines, Mr. Emmett divides them apparently into three sections, which may be aligned as follows:—

(1) The capitalist class.
(2) The inventor, (the friend of above.)
(3) The working class.

But society is not so divided, and it seems that Mr. Emmett does NOT know it. It would be interesting to know where the inventor comes in, in the present system, seeing that he does not own the means of wealth production. What Mr. Emmett does not seem to grasp is, that the tools of production have been developed by necessity, though the capitalist class have taken complete advantage of the inventor by robbing him wholesale.

Does Mr. Emmett realise, that an individual inventor rarely has the funds to develop the ideas in his mind. That the inventor must have recourse to some plant to erect his machine, is clear, even to Mr. Emmett. AND WHERE WILL HE GET THAT?

It is this inability to pay preliminary expenses, that is responsible for the impoverishment of the inventor, who then is compelled to "agree" to some division whereby he is deprived entirely of the results of his forethought. His economic dependence makes him a fit subject for marooning, and then exploited. These facts ought to be understood by a Marxian, and that is why Mr. Emmett is NOT a Marxian.

The development in the machinery of production, produces, as Marx and Engles stated, the "germs of its own destruction," referring to the capitalist system.

The evolution of the tools of production forced out of existence the handicraft stage, supplanted by the condition of small manufacture. The latter was relegated to oblivion by the growth of what Marx calls Modern Industry.

It is a mistake to think that because a new machine supplants wage-labourers, that the workers who make the new machine, are enemies of the working class. Their function as producers no more deprives them of having an identical interest with the rest of the wage-slaves, than it deprives the inventor.

A man who drew plans or specifications of any type, is nothing more than a wage-slave. It may be that he has a higher price for his labour power, but that is true to the Marxian conception just as the price of a labourer is determined; by the cost of his production.

To place an inventor, who HAS to rely on the social-labour of others, in harmony with the development of the present system, as something apart from a wage-labourer, is to be convicted of gross ignorance and stupidity. The history of inventions shows that during the past 150 years, inventors have died in poverty, or have had to appeal to friends for some relief.

There is no doubt that the increase in the productivity of labour has been due to the highly technical advance in mechanical appliances. Admittedly it has created a greater misery. But the trouble lays not in the MACHINE ITSELF, but in the private class-ownership of those machines. The inventor does not receive the products resulting from the improved appliance. The products belong to the capitalist class.

Though misery is increasing, it nevertheless opens up the mind of the worker to seek the cause. A knowledge of that fact is, and must be the basis of the activity of the working class organisation. Marx has well presented this, in the shortest, yet one of the most interesting chapters in "Capital." It is taken

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from pages 788-789 English edition, and 836-837 American edition:

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise ALL ADVANTAGES of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working class, a class always increasing in numbers, and disciplined, united, organised by the **very mechanism of the process of capitalist production itself.**"

Another passage or two from Marx may not be amiss. Mr. Emmett needs it badly. It will settle his inventors' twaddle effectively, and may cause him to read and study more instead of writing on a subject that he is incompetent to master.

On page 382, English Ed., and page 421, American Ed., Marx says:—

"The implements of labor in the form of machinery, the subsutitution of natural forces for human force, the conscious application of science, instead of rule of thumb. In Manufacture, the organisation of the social-labor process is purely subjective; it is a combination of detail laborers; in its machinery system, Modern Industry has a productive organism that is purely objective, in which the laborer becomes a mere appendage to an already existing material condition of production."

The next quotation is from page 380 Eng. Ed., and page 421, American Ed.:

"Modern Industry had therefore itself to take in hand the machine, its characteristic instrument of production, and to construct machines by machines. It was not till it did this, that it built up for itself a fitting technical foundation, and stood on its own feet."

It will be seen that in order to develop the capitalist system the inventor's knowledge had to be applied, NOT for the benefit of the inventor, but in the interest of the master class. Any new design or improvement in a piece of mechanism created in the specially built laboratories in the modern factories is taken for, and by the capitalist class.

Has Mr. Emmett ever heard of the "SUGGESTION BOX" In most modern industrial hells a notice is to be seen, which informs the budding inventor that if he has any idea which can help the firm to reduce cost of production, or increase output, he can put it in the box, and if found successful, the firm will give him adequate "reward." The result may be splendid, but the originator of the suggestion will get a few shillings, whilst the results will be pocketed by the shareholders.

To all but those who think like Mr. Emmett, it is plain that as the inventor does NOT own the means of production, his interest is identical with that of the the other workers en masse who are divorced from those means of production, S.L.P. sophistry notwithstanding. It isn't a matter as to whether he "ought to join us" so much, as he is of us, AND MUST BE WITH US.

It now presents a favorable moment to quote authority that the S.L.P. always admired. I refer to Paul Lafargue. In a pamphlet he wrote many years ago entitled "Le Socialism et Les Intellectuals" (quoted and translated for the "Socialist Standard," May, 1905) Lafargue states this pungent phase.

"Material property, whatever may be its origins, is declared eternal by capitalist law; it is assured for ever to its possessor, handed down from father to son until the end of time, no power, civil or political, being able to lay sacreligious hands upon it. . . . but it is not thus with the property in inventions, which is of supreme importance to the industrial and commercial capitalists together. . . The inventor, if he desires to defend his intellectual property against the bourgeois plunderers, must begin by buying this right by taking out a patent, which must be renewed annually. One day behind time in paying the tax, his intellectual property becomes the prey of capitalist robbers. Even while paying this sum regularly his right is limited to 14 years (in France). During this short number of years. . . it is he, the inventor, who at his own expense must put in movement the legal machinery against the bourgeois plunderers who would seize it.

"The capitalist has only grudgingly granted to the inventor the right to defend his intellectual property, because by his right as reigning class, he believes himself master of the fruits of intellectual labor as well as manual labor, just as the feudal lord arrogated to himself the right of possession over the property of his serfs.

"To a certain point we can consider all factories and workshops as laboratories of inventions, because a considerable number of improvements in machinery have been found out by the workmen in the course of work. As the inventor has not the necessary money to patent or apply his discovery, the employer takes out the patent in his own name, and thus, as bourgeois justice wishes it, it is he who gathers all accruing profits therefrom."

Science, which includes inventions, is held by the capitalist class for their own benefit.

The Socialist position beckons to all who are despoiled by the capitalist class, and gives them hearty welcome. To tell them that their emancipation is only possible when the proletariat combine to reap the results of their social efforts. So all should join us. - MOSES BARITZ

TROTZKY'S SPEECH TO THE PETROGRAD SOVIET.

Continued from Front Page.

—:o:—

ours of German Imperialism are at cross purposes. Baku was seized by the Turks, but there is reason to think that it will pass to-morrow into the hands of the English. After Baku it will be Astrakhan's turn, and then that of Cis-Caucasia. The Krasnovites, who at present are snooting German ammunition from German rifles, will to-morrow aim all their artillery according to the dictates of English Imperialism. Krasnov will carry out these measures without hesitation and in this will unite with Denikin, who continues to carry on Alexeyev's business.

Just now, Comrades, the chief danger threatens us, not from the north, and not from the east: this is a more distant danger; the months of this winter will roll by and the spring that follows must come before the danger from the Archangel side becomes a real one, or the Japanese can move their divisions toward old Ural, if their warlike imperialistic pretensions go so far.

The danger in the south is much more immediate; if the Straits are opened by England's and France's fleets, if an Anglo-French expedition appears on the shores of the Black Sea, this will mean a radical change of Krasnov's front, a change of the whole of Southern Russia, on the signal of danger from the Anglo-French mercenary bands, supported by Russian White Guard bands; this means a blow at Soviet Russia from the south.

Germany is too weak just now to be a menace to us. England and France account themselves sufficiently strong still; they are at present passing through such a period as that which Germany passed through during the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, and the conclusion of the treaty.

Germany needed six months to fall a victim to her own crimes. England and France, who reached their culmination six months after Germany, require perhaps six or eight weeks, because history works at a feverish rate, and because the patience of the popular masses is being the more exhausted and indications of a catastrophe are visible in imperialistic politics.

It may be hoped that in a few months, and it may be in a few weeks, the Anglo-French will be weaker than they are at present, but in the next few weeks they are an immediate and menacing enemy to us. This enemy threatens in a much greater degree from the south than from the north, therefore, all our attention must be directed toward the south. Our first and chief problem is, not to allow Krasnov to cross the front, not to give him an opportunity to join hands with the Anglo-French and receive military support from them.

How is this to be achieved? It is very simple: Krasnov's and all these bands must be wiped off the face of the earth in the next two or three weeks. The Ukraine, as you know, during her negotiation with us, refused to define the frontier with us and stated that it was the territory of the Don Republic there and this did not concern Soviet Russia. Now, when we clear the Don Republic of the Krasnov bands, we shall have no frontier with the Ukraine; she herself did not want to have this frontier, and we will seek it in conjunction with the Ukrainian workmen and peasants. The evacuation of the Don territory will be a death-blow to all the Ukrainian bourgeoisie and to both of the counter-revolutions; to the already waning German scheme, because this will be the ruin of Krasnov, to whom Skoropadsky appealed for military help in establishing Ukrainian Cossackdom; it will also be ruin to the Anglo-French scheme, because it reckoned on Krasnov for the best reasons. In this way it will be a death-blow to the whole Ukrainian counter-revolution. There can be no doubt that, when the Red Army regiments enter Rostov and Novocherkask, Soviet barricades will be erected in the streets of Kiev and Odessa. A revolution in the Ukraine, which, of course, we do not regard with indifference,—and we shall occupy the post that becomes Soviet Russia,—means a mighty concussion for Rumania and the whole Balkan peninsula. Austria, which is now too closely bound up with the Ukraine, if only from the fact that Austrian, as well as German, troops are quartered there, is being more and more drawn into the rapids of the Ukrainian revolution. The knot of European Imperialism, or even of World Imperialism, is tied in the south of Russia, and especially on the Don front. The knot of the European revolution is tied there, together with it, at present, and this knot we must cut in the shortest possible time. We have transferred to that part a sufficient quantity of military forces, we are stronger than our enemy, and we hope to show this very soon indeed; but we need those same Soviet workers whom we had, and have, on the northern and eastern fronts, where, by their work, they secured the victories we have gained. So far there are in the south but few of you Petrograd Comrades! There is not yet in the political or military organisation of the administration of the front that revolutionary temper, that hardness and determination, which can only be given to the Red Front by the Petrograd and Moscow proletariat, that, with or without rifles, says, 'I am a representative of the Petrograd Soviet, I am a Communard, and I know my post, which I will not desert, nor will I allow others to desert the posts assigned by the Republic.'

I have been again sent to you, to report that the centre of attention of the Soviet Republic is now the south, which is farther away than the north, but cannot be farther from your political consciousness and your revolutionary preparations, because it is there that the fate of Soviet Russia and the World Revolution is now to be decided. I reported here yesterday to the leading Comrades of Red Petrograd, and they, of course, quite rightly drew my attention to the fact that Petrograd has given many men to all fronts; and everywhere I am always being accosted in the train by some Petrograd or Moscow workman who is now president of the Executive Committee or of the Extraordinary Commission, or is District Commissioner—a youth of nineteen or twenty. I know that you can give many men, and those not the worst, to all the fronts in the provinces, but still I feel myself too much a man of Petrograd and a member of you Soviet not to know your strength and what you can do. I know that Petrograd is a Red hydra; cut off a hundred heads and in their place thousands of new ones will grow. I come again to you and say: Comrades, before the spring thaw which makes the fields impassable to military movements, before the spring thaw which makes the advance difficult, we must achieve decisive operations. We must enter Rostov and Novocherkask, clear the Don and plant a firm foundation for the predominance of Soviet power in all the Northern Caucasus. From the military point of view, Comrades, we have done all we could. We now need a firm revolutionary support. Give us your Petrograd proletariat, gladiators, ready to go into fire and water, and carry whole masses with them; insure our young forces against signs of cowardice and hesitation, give us, in a word, true representatives of the Petrograd Soviet, give us all you can of such workers, and you will see that over Rostov and Novocherkask will float the Red Standard of the Soviet Republic.

From The Petrogradskaya Pravda in the "Living Age."

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